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The Struggle Continues

by

KWAME NKRUMAH

One Shilling

A Call to the Workers of Ghana

WORKERS of Ghana; workers of our farms and peasant areas; workers in offices, factories and shops; workers in our Trade Unions; workers in the mines and railways; workers on the construction sites; workers in the public services; teachers and students in our schools, colleges and universities.

Since the 24th February, 1966, a little over two years ago, you have seen before your own eyes the degradation and shame which have been brought upon Ghana. Never before in our history has a clique of traitors betrayed the people and sold them to foreign interests. The so-called NLC with their neo-colonialist mentors and "domo"* cohorts sought political power by force, and by meaningless decrees are mismanaging and ruining Ghana.

You the workers of Ghana have a duty to perform, a duty stern and mandatory, to organise and to overthrow by force the clique of military-police puppets which calls itself the "National Liberation Council" A point has now been reached where you have no alternative. You have got to take a stand now and save Ghana.

Today, you the workers, farmers and peasants of Ghana, more than any others, know that Ghanaians are living under the grip of a neo-colonialist tyranny. The time is ripe for organised, aggressive action. It is time to organise the trade unions for a general strike simultaneously with a military counter-coup to overthrow the NLC and liberate Ghana from the clutches of neo-colonialism.

Consider the lot of the Ghanaian worker today; mass unemployment has hit the country, and the cost of living has soared to an unprecedented height. Thousands of those previously engaged in gainful employment today find it impossible to earn a living; hunger and crime plague the country.

Our free compulsory universal primary education and the free supply of text-books have been abolished. Many secondary schools have been closed down and welfare services stopped.

The Cedi has been devalued, and is soon to be devalued again. Ghana

* Ghana local nickname for local reactionaries, and refers to all opposed to the CPP.

- 1 *A Call to the Workers of Ghana.*
2. *Message to the Black People of Britain.*
3. *Africa Day Special Message.*

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is bankrupt. It is deception to announce wage increases amidst economic chaos and confusion; and wherever one looks at the tragedy it is the Ghanaian worker who has been hit hardest.

Meantime, the so-called NLC, in league with its neo-colonialist masters and local reactionaries, are busy forming private companies with themselves and their foreign manipulators becoming the directors on the boards of these companies.

American, West German and British private companies are sharing the booty of the exploitation of the Ghanaian people. This they call "Aid" The victimisation and humiliation of all those who advocate socialism as the African way of development still continues. How many commissions of inquiry will be needed to uncover the dark recesses of NLC corruption?

To conceal the truth, the NLC and their neo-colonialist masters embark upon campaigns of lies, propaganda and vilification, in order to divert the attention of the Ghanaian workers from the issues of hunger and exploitation and to destroy the will to overthrow them.

Their American "advisers" who have taken over the direction of their economic affairs are not in Ghana to seek solutions to our industrial and economic development but to squeeze out profits from Ghana. They have come to Ghana to ensure the exploitation of our country for the benefit of foreign capitalist interests.

In the past two years, by practical experience, you the workers of Ghana have come to know now what neo-colonialism is. The Ghana TUC which was built out of the sacrifices and struggles of thousands of our working men as an effective implement to better living conditions and to protect their industrial rights has been reduced to a disgraceful appendage of neo-colonialism.

Today, openly and shamelessly, the NLC has made our once glorious and dynamic Ghana TUC an apparatus of neo-colonialism. Where is the honour and dignity of our TUC in Africa today when John GORE of the American CIA employed by a so-called African-American Labour Centre sits in our former offices of the All-African Trade Union Federation (AATUF) as the principal of the so-called Ghana Labour College?

This is the extent to which the image and honour of our once glorious and invincible Trade Union Movement has been reduced by these neo-colonialist lackeys.

Why must the workers of Ghana sit and watch these things happen before their very eyes and yet do nothing about them? What will the founders of the Ghana trade union movement think of our generation? How can a movement with such fine traditions of struggle allow itself to be so denigrated?

Workers of Ghana, awake! This is the time to demonstrate your invincibility once more. We have not forgotten the historic role played by the Ghanaian TUC in the achievement of Ghana's independence. We have not forgotten the days when AATUF with its headquarters in Ghana was the hope and inspiration of other workers of Africa struggling for their freedom.

Where is our policy of non-alignment and the assertion of the African Personality in trade union affairs? How long are we going to continue to sit down unconcerned and see the name, honour and dignity of Ghana and the workers in particular dragged down, besmeared with mud?

All that which is right and reasonable pleads for action to avenge the honour and dignity of Ghana. To think or talk of constitutional formulas in the face of illegalities is to duck the truth and ignore realities. To attempt to argue or to listen to discussions, with the clique which has sold its conscience for a mess of pottage is criminal folly. To negotiate with renegades who have renounced their use of reason is to attempt the impossible.

The only language which is understood is force and action. Workers of Ghana reflect, take stock of events and deal with the present shameless situation with revolutionary firmness and zeal.

After a certain point the liberation struggle develops a continuity as a result of its past experiences. The Ghanaian worker must refuse to struggle under blackmail. The enemy has got its grip on our Achilles heel and we must kick back now or never.

Today we see before our own eyes the total and complete dismantling of the socialist sector of our economy. This sector built through sweat, toil and sacrifice for the welfare of the Ghanaian workers, is being handed over shamelessly to foreign capitalists.

The workers who in the past worked in our state hotels and felt the pride of working for themselves are today the employees of an American Hotel Corporation; many of them have been dismissed.

The free workers on our twenty-mile square State Rubber Plantation are today the slave labourers of the Firestone Rubber Company of America—a company known throughout the world for its oppressive labour policies: behold Liberia.

The breakdown of the economy of Ghana and the transforming of the country into a classic neo-colonialist client state must make the workers sit up, think and act. The institutions we built through years of hard work and socialist planning are being destroyed.

Our trade unions and militant workers must adopt Positive Action now to clear up the mess into which the country has been plunged. And this must take the form of countrywide co-ordinated Positive Action, not

isolated protests. Once the fire is lit the blaze will spread throughout the country.

Workers of Ghana, arouse the anger of the people of Ghana into action! This is your total responsibility as a working class. If you put down your tools and refuse to work, if you stop production and stop making profits for foreign interests, if you organise yourselves and link up in Positive Action in the form of a general strike with other workers throughout the country you will have forced the NLC and their neo-colonialist manipulators to capitulate; you will have rescued our generation from complete political and economic disaster.

This is a sacrifice you must make. There is no other greater patriotic duty you could perform for Ghana. For the present generation of Ghanaians life can only spring up again out of the rotten corpse of the so-called NLC. The term "NLC" is a misnomer and has become symbolic—symbolic of degradation, shame and infamy.

But I know that there are a majority of the army and police, including officers, who would like to see Ghana freed from neo-colonialist control. These men are with us and are ready to join us in the march to action.

The task of the workers of Ghana now is direct action and struggle. Organise in your workplaces, in the mines, in the railways, at the harbours, on the construction sites, in public offices, in schools, colleges and universities.

Link up your resistance and Positive Action activities with the CPP in the wards, villages and in the countryside. The Party is emerging, born anew from its setback, fully tested and experienced to fulfil its historic role as the Party of the workers, farmers and peasants of Ghana.

Those who had remained in the ranks of the Party in the past for the purpose of amassing wealth and with no conviction in its socialist goals have been swept away by their own opportunism and misdeeds, and by their betrayal of the people's trust.

As I have said elsewhere, the slate has been wiped clean and the Party is emerging ideologically seasoned to continue the revolutionary struggle with the oppressed of Ghana, Africa and the world.

Workers, farmers and peasants in all parts of Ghana, organise and act now. You have to liberate your country once again as you did in the days of British colonialism. Your goal is historic—it is the building of a society in Ghana within a united socialist Africa.

Workers, farmers and peasants of Ghana do not despair or fear the future. Act NOW The struggle continues.

Message to the Black People of Britain

MEMBERS of the Black Panther Movement and all my Black Brothers and Sisters, comrades and friends from the Caribbean, Africa, Asia, Latin America and all corners of the Third World:

Greetings:

History rarely moves in a straight line; its course is uneven. Today as a result of the contradictions in capitalism, neo-colonialism and racism, Black Power is emerging on the stage of history. The oppressed of the earth are seeking a new way out to resolve these contradictions and achieve total emancipation.

What is Black Power? By Black Power we mean the power of the four-fifths of the world population which has been systematically damned into a state of undevelopment by colonialism and neo-colonialism. In other words, Black Power is the sum total of the economic, cultural and political power which the black man must have in order to achieve his survival in a highly developed technical society, and in a world ravaged by imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and fascism.

Black Power epitomises a new stage of revolutionary consciousness of the yearning and aspiration of the black man. Since the black man is the most oppressed of the races of mankind, Black Power, therefore, is the struggle for the possession of the economic, cultural, social and political power which he, in common with the oppressed and the exploited of the earth, must have in order to stampede and overthrow the oppressor. Unless we are prepared to do this then we are prepared to be enslaved.

Your organisation is therefore part of this revolutionary upsurge in the world today.

You are in Britain not by chance or by choice; you are in Britain for historical reasons; you are in Britain because Britain colonised you and reduced the various countries to which you belong to the level of colonial status. You are in Britain because British neo-colonialism is strangling you in your home countries. Where else can you go to seek survival, except in the "mother country" which has enslaved you?

But don't forget that your homes, at the moment, are under the yoke of colonialism or neo-colonialism. You all know that even though your organisations are anti-racist, they face racism in Britain. You have been so long confused that you have become victims of white racism. There is no solution to the race question until all forms of racial discrimination and segregation anywhere are made criminal offences. Under real socialism racism vanishes.

You who are in Britain have a significant role to play in the international black revolutionary movement. You live in the centre of the very citadel of British imperialism and neo-colonialism.

The finger of history is now pointing to the right direction. In my days in London we organised the Coloured Men's Association, and today in the emergence of Black Power you have in Britain organisations like the RASS headed by Michael X and the Black Panther Movement headed by Obi Egbuna. These two organisations are advocates of Black Power, and must mobilise, educate, and re-awaken the black people of Britain to the full realisation of their revolutionary potential.

We know the difficulties you are going through in Britain: discrimination, prejudice and racial hostility. You know that what goes on in Britain, goes on in many parts of the world where white establishment holds power; be it in the United States of America, apartheid South Africa, Latin America, Australia, Rhodesia, Angola, Mozambique, or Portuguese Guinea.

Your homes are under puppet regimes teleguided by neo-colonialism. Real black freedom will only come when Africa is politically united. It is only then that the black man will be free to breathe the air of freedom, which is his to breathe, in any part of the world.

To those of you who want to make Britain your home I say, remember that what is important is not where you are but what you do. And to those who want to come back home and fight for Africa's total emancipation, unity and independence I say, come home. We need you.

I want you all to understand that I am not in exile in Conakry. Every country and town in Africa is my home, and so I am at home in Conakry, Guinea, as I would be at home in any part of the black world. I am fit, alive and alert. The struggle for the political unification of Africa has never been clearer and better charted.

You have asked me to be your patron. My answer is, YES. I will stand behind you in all your Black Power revolutionary endeavours, and I hope, you will answer my call when the clarion sounds.

I wish you good luck and success.

Africa Day Special Message

AS the armed phase of the African Revolution for total liberation and unity gains momentum in central and southern Africa, racist settlers, imperialists and neo-colonialists are intensifying and diversifying their efforts to consolidate and extend their domination.

They are faced with a protracted guerrilla struggle which in the long run they know they cannot win. But they are seeking by joint military action to contain it, and by devious and insinuating economic and political penetration to undermine its strength.

They see their opportunity in the continuing disunity of independent Africa, the lack of continental planning and direction of the liberation struggle, and in the willingness of certain African leaders to allow their countries to become client states.

Collective imperialism confronts a disunited, weakened, independent Africa.

The situation demands immediate and drastic remedy. We must throw the full weight of a united, revolutionary Africa into the struggle. Each day that we delay, we fail our gallant freedom fighters and betray our people.

It is an open secret that South Africa, Portugal and Rhodesia are co-operating in the military sphere to crush guerrilla campaigns in their territories. They exchange information about freedom fighter activities, allow overflights and landings of military aircraft in each other's countries, and in the case of South Africa, supply armed forces and helicopters to assist in the counter-offensive.

A military intelligence board, known as the Council of Three, is said to meet regularly in Pretoria, Salisbury, Lourenco Marques or Luanda, to prepare joint action.

The world first heard of the participation of South African forces in military action outside their own borders in August 1967, when a strong force of freedom fighters went into action around the Wankie game reserve in Rhodesia. A large contingent of South African police in armoured cars was rushed to the scene.

Since then, there have been innumerable reports of South African

intervention. In Rhodesia, South West Africa, Angola and Mozambique, South African helicopters are being used to hunt freedom fighters. Armed South African police are operating against nationalists in South West Africa. South African troops are reported in both Angola and Mozambique.

Nor is enemy co-operation confined to defensive operations. There are clear indications that the members of the Council of Three are planning offensive action against independent states.

Zambia has been openly threatened. Furthermore, some ten miles from her border, on the Caprivi strip, the South Africans have built an enormous airfield, said to have a two mile runway. There are many reports of armed incursions of Rhodesians, South Africans and Portuguese over the borders between Zambia, Rhodesia and Mozambique.

The example of the recent Israeli aggression against Arab states has not passed unnoticed in Pretoria, and has been publicly proclaimed in South Africa as an effective way of dealing with a so-called "threat" from neighbouring states.

Faced with the combined military strength of the South Africans, Portuguese and Rhodesian settlers, African freedom fighters must close their ranks and put an end to internecine rivalries. They must also be supported by united and determined action on the part of the whole of independent Africa.

No part of Africa is free while any of our national territory remains unliberated. There can be no co-existence between African independence and imperialist and neo-colonialist domination; between independent Africa and racist, minority, settler governments.

The military obstacles we have to overcome if we are to achieve our goal of total liberation and an All-African Union Government are obvious and surmountable. Less easy to recognise and to combat are the insidious, often disguised workings of neo-colonialism—the economic and political pressures which seek to undermine our independence and to perpetuate and extend the grip of foreign monopoly finance capital over the economic life of our continent.

Many of our so-called independent states are in fact neo-colonies. They have all the outward appearance of sovereignty, but their economy and therefore their political policy is directed from outside.

Some have been in the grip of neo-colonialism since independence. Others have been subjected to neo-colonialism by means of military coups engineered by neo-colonialists acting in conjunction with indigenous reactionaries.

In recent months, with the intensification of the guerrilla struggle in central and southern Africa, pressure has been strongly directed towards

those states which have common frontiers with South Africa, Rhodesia, Angola and Mozambique. The object is to dominate them politically and economically, and thus hold up the advance of the African Revolution and at the same time to improve their own neo-colonialist position.

The tragedy is that some African heads of state are themselves actually aiding and abetting imperialists and neo-colonialists. In February 1967 Malawi became the first independent African state to conclude a trade agreement, and later to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa.

Since then, other African states have also been lured into the South African neo-colonialist web by a mixture of "aid" and carefully-veiled threats.

The withdrawal of Britain from the High Commission territories, the break between Britain and Rhodesia as a result of UDI, and the outbreak of guerrilla warfare in the Portuguese colonies, has given South Africa a golden opportunity to jump in.

South Africa is in the classic, imperialist position of a manufacturing country seeking new outlets for its capital and goods. Its policy is to exploit the labour and resources of its hinterland, thereby strengthening South Africa's economy and at the same time delaying the advance of the African Revolution.

South Africa's "new policy" of improved relations with African states has been described as the building of "bridges" rather than "forts". The crux of the matter was revealed clearly in the editorial of the South African *Financial Gazette* of May 10, 1968:

"We must build more bridges and less forts. The might of our armed forces are not enough to shield off hostilities still being built up against South Africa in some African states. We must build more bridges into Africa. In Malawi we have virtually spanned a bridge into the heart of Africa."

A delighted broadcaster in Salisbury on October 8, 1967 praised Dr. Banda for what he called his "realistic policy" and added: "the nations which are nearest to South Africa have been the quickest to realise the side on which their bread is buttered." He referred here to Lesotho and Botswana.

South Africa is daily increasing her economic and political penetration into African territories. The Lesotho government in 1967 appointed three South Africans to "advise" on political and economic affairs. In Rhodesia, South African capital investment already exceeds that of Britain; and it is mainly the support of South Africa which has enabled Ian Smith's rebel regime to survive.

The South African government has recently granted eight million rand to Malawi for the building of the new capital city at Lilongwe. Of the

five million rand set aside for "economic co-operation" two million has already been ear-marked for Malawi as a "first instalment" this year.

Since 1964, when Malawi became independent, imports from South Africa have doubled; while the main force behind capital investment in Malawi is increasingly the South African government itself.

The South African liberation movement together with the peoples of independent Africa and freedom fighters wherever they are operating must be alert to this new challenge. Neo-colonialism, like colonialism and imperialism can only be banished from our midst by armed struggle.

In east, central and west Africa, neo-colonialism is hard at work fostering regional economic groupings, in the knowledge that without political cohesion they will remain weak and subject to neo-colonialist pressures and domination. The U.S. government in its latest statement on "aid" has said that it will favour those states which are grouped together in this way.

As each new attempt is made to divide us and to divert us from our purpose, it must be exposed and attacked. Already, the ordinary men and women of Africa are talking the language of the African Revolution. They speak of freedom, unity and socialism, and know that these objectives are synonymous, and can only be attained through armed struggle.

In some cases, the people of Africa are ahead of their governments. But the pressures they are exerting will inevitably compel the pace forward.

We must recognise and fight the external and the internal enemy, and combine all our resources in the great struggle which lies ahead. With cohesive planning and with a full awareness of our united strength, nothing can halt the progress towards final victory.